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Everett. Oration at Plymouth. Dec. 22, 1824
1825

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November 26, 1917

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DELIVERED AT PLYMOUTH

DECEMBER 22, 1824.

By EDWARD EVERETT.

Boston.

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District of Massachusetts: to wit.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the thirteenth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, and in the forty-ninth year of the Independence of the United States of America, CUMMINGS, HILLIARD & Co. of the said District, have deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

“An Oration delivered at Plymouth December 22, 1824. By EDWARD EVERETT.”

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, “An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;” and also to an act, entitled “An act, supplementary to an act, entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

JNO. W. DAVIS,

Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

I. R. BUTTS, Printer.

Press of the North American Review.

Plymouth, December 23, 1824.

PROFESSOR EDWARD EVERETT,

SIR,—In obedience to a vote of the Trustees of the PILGRIM SOCIETY, I have the honor to make the subjoined communication.

“ At a meeting of the Trustees of the PILGRIM SOCIETY, holden in Plymouth, Dec. 22, 1824,

“ *Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Professor EDWARD EVERETT, for his interesting and eloquent Discourse delivered this day ; and that a copy be requested for publication.”

I am, with due sentiments of respect and regard, sir,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL DAVIS,

Corresponding Secretary.

A few passages in the following Discourse were, on account of its length, omitted in the delivery.

Oration.

THERE are occasions on which the employment, best calculated to be pleasing, becomes a source of anxiety ; and the most flattering trust grows into a burthen. Amidst all the proud and grateful feelings, which the return of this anniversary must inspire, in the bosom of every child of New England, a deep solicitude oppresses me, lest I should fail in doing justice to the men, to the day, and to the events, which we are met to commemorate. In this solicitude, no personal sentiment mingles. I should be unworthy to address you, on this occasion, could I, from the selfish desire of winning your applause, devote one of the moments of this consecrated day to any cold speculations, however ingenious or original. Gladly would I give utterance to the most familiar commonplaces,

could I be so happy in doing it, as to excite or strengthen the feelings, which belong to the time and the place. Gladly would I repeat to you those sentiments, which a hundred times have been uttered and welcomed on this anniversary ; sentiments, whose truth does not change in the change of circumstances, whose power does not wear out with time. It is not by pompous epithets or lively antithesis, that the exploits of the pilgrims are to be set forth by their children. We can only do this worthily, by repeating the plain tale of their sufferings, by dwelling on the circumstances under which their memorable enterprise was executed, and by cherishing and uttering that spirit, which led them across the Ocean, and guided them to the spot where we stand.—We need no voice of artificial rhetoric to celebrate their names. The bleak and deathlike desolation of nature proclaims, with touching eloquence, the fortitude and patience of the meek adventurers. On the bare and wintry fields around us, their exploits are written in characters, which will last, and tell their tale to posterity, when brass and marble have crumbled into dust.

The occasion which has called us together is certainly one, to which no parallel exists in the history of the world. Other countries, and our own also, have their national festivals. They commemorate the birthdays of their illustrious children; they celebrate the foundation of important institutions: momentous events, victories, reformations, revolutions awaken, on their anniversaries, the grateful and patriotic feelings of posterity. But we commemorate the birthday of all New England; the foundation, not of one institution, but of all the institutions, the settlements, the establishments, the communities, the societies, the improvements, comprehended within our broad and happy borders.

Were it only as an act of rare adventure; were it a trait in foreign, or ancient history; we should fix upon the achievement of our fathers, as one of the noblest deeds, in the annals of the world. Were we attracted to it, by no other principle than that sympathy we feel, in all the fortunes of our race, it could lose nothing—it must gain—in the contrast, with whatever history or tradition has preserved to us of the wanderings and settlements of the tribes of

man. A continent for the first time, effectually explored ; a vast ocean traversed by men, women, and children, voluntarily exiling themselves from the fairest regions of the old world ; and a great nation grown up, in the space of two centuries, on the foundations so perilously laid, by this pious band :—point me to the record, to the tradition, nay to the fiction of any thing, that can enter into competition with it.—It is the language not of exaggeration, but of truth and soberness to say, that there is nothing in the accounts of Phenician, of Grecian, or of Roman Colonization, that can stand in the comparison.

What new importance then does not the achievement acquire to our minds, when we consider that it was the deed of our fathers ; that this grand undertaking was accomplished on the spot where we dwell ; that the mighty region they explored is our native land ; that the unrivalled enterprise they displayed, is not merely a fact proposed to our admiration, but is the source of our being ; that their cruel hardships are the spring of our prosperity ; their amazing sufferings the seed, from which our happiness has sprung ; that their weary banish-

ment gave us a home ; that to their separation from every thing which is dear and pleasant in life, we owe all the comforts, the blessings, the privileges, which make our lot the envy of mankind.

These are the well known titles of our ancestors to our gratitude and veneration.

But there seems to me this peculiarity in the nature of their enterprise, that its grand and beneficent consequences are, with the lapse of time, constantly unfolding themselves, in an extent, and to a magnitude, which, till they are witnessed, are beyond the reach of the most sanguine promise. In the frail condition of human affairs, we have generally nothing left us to commemorate, but heroic acts of valor, which have resulted in no permanent effect ; great characters, that have struggled nobly, but in vain, against the disastrous combinations of the age ; brilliant triumphs of truth and justice, rendered unproductive, by the complication of opposite events, and by the stern resistance of that system of destiny, of which even the independence of our wills seems an obedient member.—At best, it is a great blessing, when we can point to some bright unclouded character ; or some prosperous and well ordered institu-

tion ; fortunate in rise and progress ; grand and glorious at maturity ; majestic, peaceful, and seasonable in decay, and piously lamented when no more ; and it is to the few spectacles of this kind in human history, that our minds so constantly and fondly revert from the chequered scene of intermediate and troubled times and conditions.

But it is the peculiar character of the enterprise of our pilgrim forefathers—successful indeed in its outset—that it has been more and more successful, at every subsequent point in the line of time.—Accomplishing all they projected ; what they projected was the least part of what has been accomplished. Forming a design, in itself grand, bold, and even appalling, for the sacrifices it required, and the risks it involved ; the fulfilment of that design is the least thing, which, in the steady progress of events, has flowed from their counsels and their efforts.—Did they propose to themselves a refuge beyond the sea, from the religious and political tyranny of Europe ? They achieved not that alone, but they have opened a wide asylum to all the victims of tyranny throughout the world. We ourselves have seen the statesmen, the generals,

the kings of the elder world, flying for protection to the shadow of our institutions. Did they wish only to escape to a remote corner, where the arm of oppression could not reach them? They founded a great realm, an imperial patrimony of liberty, the first effectual counterpoise in the scale of human right. Did they look for a retired spot, inoffensive for its obscurity and safe in its remoteness, where the little church of Leyden might enjoy the freedom of conscience? Behold the mighty regions over which in peaceful conquest—victoria sine clade—they have borne the banners of the cross.—Did they seek, beneath the protection of trading charters, to prosecute a frugal commerce in reimbursement of the expenses of their humble establishment? The fleets and navies of their descendants are on the farthest ocean; and the wealth of the Indies is now wafted with every tide to the coasts, where with hook and line they painfully gathered up their little adventures.—In short, did they, in their brightest and most sanguine moments, contemplate a thrifty, loyal, and prosperous colony—portioned off, like a younger son of the imperial household, to an humble, a dutiful distance? Behold the

spectacle of an independent and powerful Republic, founded on the shores where some of those are but lately deceased, who saw the first-born of the pilgrims.

And shall we stop here? Is the tale now told; is the contrast now complete; are our destinies all fulfilled; have we reached the meridian; are we declining; are we stationary? My friends, I tell you, we have but begun; we are in the very morning of our days; our numbers are but an unit; our national resources but a pittance; our hopeful achievements in the political, the social, and the intellectual nature, are but the rudiments of what the children of the Pilgrims must yet attain. If there is any thing certain in the principles of human and social progress; if there is any thing clear in the deductions from past history; if there is any, the least, reliance to be placed on the conclusions of reason, in regard to the nature of man, the existing spectacle of our country's growth, magnificent as it is, does not suggest even an idea of what it must be. I dare adventure the prediction, that he who shall stand where I stand, two centuries hence, and look back on our present condition from a distance,

equal to that from which we contemplate the first settlement of the Pilgrims, will sketch a contrast far more astonishing; and will speak of our times as the day of small things, in stronger and juster language, than any in which we can depict the poverty and wants of our fathers.

But we ought to consecrate this day, not to the promise, nor even the present blessings of our condition, except so far as these are connected with the memory of the Pilgrims. The twenty second of December belongs to them; and we ought, in consistency, to direct our thoughts to the circumstances, under which their most astonishing enterprise was achieved. I shall hope to have contributed my mite towards our happy celebration, if I can succeed in pointing out a few of those circumstances of the first emigration to our country, and particularly of the first emigration to New England,* from which, under a kind Providence, has flowed not only the immediate success of the undertaking, but the astonishing train of consequences auspicious to the cause of liberty, humanity, and truth.

* See Note A.

I. Our forefathers regarded, with natural terror, the passage of the mighty deep. Navigation, notwithstanding the great advances which it had made in the sixteenth century, was yet, comparatively speaking, in its infancy. The very fact, that voyages of great length and hazard were successfully attempted in small vessels, a fact which, on first view, might seem to show a high degree of perfection in the art, in reality proves that it was as yet but imperfectly understood. That the great Columbus should put to sea, for the discovery of a new passage across the Western Ocean to India, with two out of three vessels *unprovided with decks*, may indeed be considered the effect, not of ignorance of the art of navigation, but of bitter necessity.* But that Sir Francis Drake, near a hundred years afterwards, the first naval commander who ever sailed round the earth, enjoying the advantage of the royal patronage, and aided by the fruits of no little personal experience, should have embarked on his voyage of circumnavigation, with five vessels, of which the largest was of one hundred, and the smallest of fifteen tons,†

* See Note B.

† *Biographia Britannica*, III. 1732.

must needs be regarded as proof, that the art of navigation, in the generation preceding our ancestors, had not reached that point, where the skilful adaptation of means to ends supersedes the necessity of extraordinary intrepidity, aided by not less extraordinary good fortune. It was therefore the first obstacle, which presented itself to the project of the pilgrims, that it was to be carried into execution, across the ocean, which separates our continent from the rest of the world.* Notwithstanding, however, this circumstance, and the natural effect it must have had on their minds, there is no doubt that it is one of those features in our natural situation, to which America is indebted, not merely for the immediate success of the enterprise of settlement, but for much of its subsequent growth and prosperity.

I do not now allude to the obvious consideration, that the remoteness of the country, to be settled, led to a more thorough preparation for the enterprise, both as respects the tempers of those who embarked in it, and the provisions made for carrying it on ; though this view will not be lost on those, who reflect on the nature

* See Note C.

of man, by which difficult enterprises (so they be not desperate) are more likely to succeed, than those which seem much easier. Nor do I allude to the effect of our distance from Europe, in preventing the hasty abandonment of the colony, under the pressure of the first difficulties; although the want of frequent and convenient reconveyance was doubtless a considerable security to the early settlements, and placed our fathers, in some degree, in the situation of the followers of Cortez, after he had intrepidly burned the vessels, which conveyed them to the Mexican coasts.

The view, which I would now take of the remoteness of America from Europe, is connected with the higher principles of national fortune and progress.

The rest of the world, though nominally divided into three continents, in reality consists of but one. Europe, Asia, and Africa are separated by no natural barriers, which it has not been easy in every age for an ambitious invader to pass; and apart from this first consequence of the juxtaposition of their various regions, a communication of principle and feeling, of policy and passion, may be propagated, at all times, even to

their remote and seemingly inaccessible communities. The consequence has been, on the whole, highly unfavorable to social progress. The extent of country inhabited or rather infested by barbarous tribes, has generally far outweighed the civilized portions; and more than once, in the history of the world, refinement, learning, arts, laws, and religion, with the wealth and prosperity they have created, have been utterly swept away, and the hands, as it were, moved back, on the dial plate of time, in consequence of the irruption of savage hordes into civilized regions. Were the early annals of the East as amply preserved as those of the Roman empire, they would probably present us with accounts of revolutions, on the Nile and the Euphrates, as disastrous as those, by which the civilized world was shaken, in the first centuries of the Christian era.—Till an ocean interposes its mighty barrier, no citadel of freedom or truth has been long maintained. The magnificent temples of Egypt were demolished in the sixth century before our Saviour, by the hordes, which Cambyses had collected from the *steppes* of Central Asia. The vineyards of Burgundy were wasted in the third century of our era, by

roving savages from beyond the Caucasus. In the eleventh century, Gengis Khan and his Tartars swept Europe and Asia from the Baltic to the China Sea. And Ionia and Attica, the gardens of Greece, are still, under the eyes of the leading Christian powers of Europe, beset by remorseless barbarians from the Altai Mountains.

Nor is it the barbarians alone, who have been tempted by this facility of communication, to a career of boundless plunder. The Alexanders and the Cæsars, the Charlemagnes and the Napoleons, the founders of great empires and authors of schemes of universal monarchy, have been enabled, by the same circumstance, to turn the annals of mankind into a tale of war and misery. When we descend to the scrutiny of single events, we find that the nations, who have most frequently and most immediately suffered, have been those most easily approached and overrun;—and that those who have longest or most uniformly maintained their independence, have done it by virtue of lofty mountains, wide rivers, or the surrounding sea.

In this state of things, the three united continents of the old world do not contain a single spot, where any grand scheme of human im-

provement could be attempted, with a prospect of fair experiment and full success, because there is no spot safe from foreign interference; and no member of the general system so insignificant, that his motions are not watched with jealousy by all the rest. The welfare and progress of man in the most favored region, instead of proceeding in a free and natural course, dependent on the organization and condition of that region alone, can only reach the point, which may be practicable in the general result of an immensely complicated system, made up of a thousand jarring members.

Our country accordingly opened, at the time of its settlement, and still opens, a new theatre of human development.—Notwithstanding the prodigious extent of commercial intercourse, and the wide grasp of naval power among modern states, and their partial effect in bringing us into the political system of Europe, it need not be urged, that we are essentially strangers to it;—placed at a distance, which retards, and for every injurious purpose, neutralizes all peaceful communication, and defies all hostile approach. To this it was owing that so little was here felt of the convulsions of

the civil wars, which followed in England so soon after the expulsion of our fathers. To this, in a more general view, we are indebted for many of our peculiarities as a nation, for our steady colonial growth, our establishment of independence, our escape amidst the political storms which, during the last thirty years, have shaken the empires of the earth,—To this we shall still be indebted, and more and more indebted, with the progress of our country, for the originality and stability of our national character. Hitherto the *political* effects of our seclusion, behind the mighty veil of waters, have been the most important. Now, that our political foundations are firmly laid; that the work of settlement, of colonization, of independence, and of union is all done, and happily done, we shall reap, in other forms, the salutary fruits of our remoteness from the centres of foreign opinion and feeling.

I say not this in direct disparagement of foreign states; their institutions are doubtless as good, in many cases, as the condition of things now admits; or when at the worst, could not be remedied by any one body, nor by any one generation of men; and the evil which requires

for its remedy the accord of successive generations, at the same time that it may generally be called desperate, ought to bring no direct reproach upon the men of any one period.

But without disparaging foreign institutions, we may be allowed to prefer our own ; to assert their excellence, to seek to build them up on their original foundations, on their true principles, and in their unmingled purity. That great word of Independence, which, if first uttered in 1776, was most auspiciously anticipated in 1620, comprehends much more than a mere absence of foreign jurisdiction. I could almost say, that if it rested there, it would scarcely be worth asserting. In every noble, in every true acceptance, it implies not merely an American government, but an American character, an American pride. To the formation of these, nothing will more powerfully contribute than our geographical distance from other parts of the world. The unhealthy air of Europe is purified in crossing the waves of the Atlantic. The roaring of its mighty billows is not terrible,—it does but echo the voices of our national feeling and power.

In these views there is nothing unsocial ;
 nothing hostile to a friendly and improving con-

nexion of distant regions with each other, or to the profitable interchange of the commodities, which a bountiful Providence has variously scattered over the earth. For these and all other desirable ends, the perfection, to which the art of navigation is brought, affords abundant means of conquering the obstacles of distance. It is idle, in reference to these ends, to speak of our remoteness from the rest of the world, while our commerce is exploring the farthest regions of the earth; while, in exchange for the products or efforts of our industry, the flocks on the western declivity of the Peruvian Andes are supplying us with wool; the north-eastern coasts of Japan furnishing us with oil; and the central provinces of China, with tea. At this moment, the reward of American skill is paid by the Chieftains of inner Tartary, wrapped up in the furs, which, in our voyages of circumnavigation, we have collected on the North Western Coast of our Continent. The interest on American capital is paid by the haughty viziers of Anatolia, whose opium is cultivated and gathered for our merchants. The wages of American labor are paid by the princes of Hindostan, whose plantations of i¹-

digo depend on us for a portion of their market. While kings and ministers, by intrigue and bloodshed, are contesting the possession of a few square miles of territory, our commerce has silently extended its jurisdiction from island to island, from sea to sea, from continent to continent, till it holds the globe in its grasp.

But while no one can doubt the mutual advantages of a judiciously conducted commerce, or be insensible of the good, which has resulted to the cause of humanity, from the cultivation of a peaceful and friendly intercourse with other climes, it is yet beyond question, that the true principle of American policy, to which the whole spirit of our institutions, not less than the geographical features of the country, invites us, is *separation from Europe*. Next to union at home, which ought to be called not so much the essential condition of our national existence, as our existence itself, separation from all other countries, in policy, spirit, and character, is the great principle, by which we are to prosper. It is toward this that our efforts, public and private, ought to strain; and we shall rise or decline in strength, improvement, and worth, as we observe or de-

sert this principle. This is the voice of nature, which did not in vain disjoin our continent from the old world ; nor reserve it beyond the ocean for fifty centuries, only that it might become a common receptacle for the exploded principles, the degenerate examples, and the remediless corruptions of other states. This is the voice of our history, which traces every thing excellent in our character and prosperous in our fortunes, to dissent, nonconformity, departure, resistance, and revolution. This is taught us by the marked peculiarity, the wonderful novelty which, whether we will it or not, displays itself in our whole physical, political, and social existence.

And it is a matter of sincere congratulation, that, under the healthy operation of natural causes, very partially accelerated by legislation, the current of our pursuits and industry, without deserting its former channels, is throwing a broad and swelling branch into the interior. Foreign commerce, the natural employment of an enterprising people, whose population is accumulated on the seacoast, and whose neutral services are called for by a world in arms, is daily reverting to a condition of more

equal participation among the various maritime states, and is in consequence becoming less productive to any one. While America remains, and will always remain, among the foremost commercial and naval states, an ample portion of our resources has already taken a new direction. We profited of the dissensions of Europe, which threw her trade into our hands ; and we amassed a capital, as her carriers, before we could otherwise have one of our own. We are now profiting of the pacification of Europe, in the application to our own soil, our own mineral and vegetable products, our water course and water falls, and our general internal resources, of a part of the capital thus accumulated.

This circumstance is, in a general view, most gratifying ; inasmuch as it creates a new bond of mutual dependence, in the variety of our natural gifts, and in the mutual benefits rendered each other by the several sectional interests of the country. The progress is likely to be permanent and sure, because it has been mainly brought about in the natural order of things, and with little legislative interference. Within a few years what a happy change has

taken place ! The substantial clothing of our industrious classes is now the growth of the American soil, and the texture of the American loom ; the music of the water wheel is heard on the banks of our thousand rural streams ; and enterprise and skill, with wealth, refinement, and prosperity in their train, having studded the seashore with populous cities, are making their great "progress" of improvement through the interior, and sowing towns and villages, as it were broadcast, through the country.

II. If our remote position be so important among the circumstances, which favored the enterprise of our fathers, and have favored the growth of their settlements, scarcely less so was the point of time at which those settlements were commenced.

When we cast our eyes over the annals of our race, we find them to be filled with a tale of various fortunes ; the rise and fall of nations ;—periods of light and darkness ;—of great illumination, and of utter obscurity ;—and of all intermediate degrees of intelligence, cultivation, and liberty. But in the seeming confusion of the narrative, our attention is

arrested by three more conspicuous eras at unequal distances in the lapse of ages.

In Egypt we still behold, on the banks of the Nile, the monuments of a polished age; —a period, no doubt, of high cultivation, and of great promise. Beneath the influence of causes, which are lost in the depth of antiquity, but which are doubtless connected with the debasing superstitions and despotism of the age, this period passed away, and left scarce a trace of its existence, beyond the stupendous and mysterious structures,—the temples, the obelisks, and the pyramids,—which yet bear witness to an age of great power and cultivated art, and mock the curiosity of mankind by the records inscrutably carved on their surfaces.

Passing over an interval of one thousand years, we reach the second epoch of light and promise. With the progress of freedom in Greece, the progress of the mind kept pace; and an age both of achievement and of hope succeeded, of which the indirect influence is still felt in the world. But the greater part of mankind were too barbarous to improve by the example of this favored corner; and

though the influence of its arts, letters, and civilization was wonderfully extensive and durable,—though it seemed to revive at the court of the Roman Cæsars, and still later, at that of the Arabian Caliphs, yet not resting on those popular institutions and popular principles, which can alone be permanent because alone natural, it slowly died away, and Europe and the world relapsed into barbarity.

The third great era of our race is the close of the fifteenth century. The use of the mariner's compass and the invention of the art of printing, had furnished the modern world, with two engines of improvement and civilization, either of which was far more efficacious than all united, known to antiquity. The reformation also, about this time, disengaged Christianity, itself one of the most powerful instruments of civilization, from those abuses, which had hitherto nearly destroyed its beneficent influence on temporal affairs ; and at this most chosen moment in the annals of the world, America was discovered.

It would not be difficult, by pursuing this analysis, to show that the very period, when the settlement of our coasts began, was peculiarly

auspicious to the foundation of a new and hopeful system.

Religious reformation was the original principle, which enkindled the zeal of our pilgrim fathers; as it has been so often acknowledged to be the master principle of the greatest movements in the modern world.* The religions of Greece and Rome were portions of the political systems of these countries. The Scipios, the Crassuses, and Julius Cæsar himself, were high priests. It was, doubtless, owing in part to this example, that at an early period after the first introduction of Christianity, the heads of the church so entirely mistook the spirit of this religion, that, in imitation of the splendid idolatry, which was passing away, they aimed at a new combination of church and state, which received but too much countenance from the policy of Constantine.† This abuse, with ever multiplying and aggravated calamitous consequences, endured, without any effectual check, till the first blow was aimed at the supremacy of the papal power, by Philip the Fair of France, in the fourteenth century,

* See Note D.

† See Note E.

who laid the foundation of the liberties of the Gallican church, of which the Constitution may be called the Catholic Reformation.*

After an interval of two hundred years, this example was followed and improved upon by the Princes in Germany, that espoused the protestant reformation of Luther, and in a still more decisive manner by Henry the Eighth in England; at which period we may accordingly date the second great step in the march of religious liberty.†

Much more, however, was yet to be effected toward the dissolution of the unnatural bond between Church and State. Hitherto a domestic was substituted for a foreign yoke, and the rights of private conscience had, perhaps, gained but little in the exchange. In the middle of the sixteenth century, and among the exiles, whom the frantic tyranny of Queen Mary had driven to the free cities on the Rhine, the ever memorable communion of Puritans arose. On their return to England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, they strenuously opposed themselves to the erection and peculiarities of the English national church.

* See Note F.

† See Note G.

Nearly as we have now reached, both in simplicity of principle and point of time, to our pilgrim forefathers, there is one more purifying process to go through, one more generation to pass away. The major part of the Puritans themselves, while they rejected some of the forms, and disliked the organization of the English church, adhered in substance to the Constitution of the Genevan church, and their descendants were willing, a century later, to accept of an establishment by law in Scotland.

It remained, therefore, to shake off the last badge of subjection, and in the person of Robert Brown, an individual himself of no very commendable qualities, the last step was taken in the progress of reform, by asserting the independence of each single church. The personal character of Brown was such as to throw no little discouragement on the cause; nor did it acquire firmness till espoused by Robinson, who may be called the father of the *Independent* churches. His own at Leyden was the chief of these, and fidelity to their principles was the motive of their departure from Holland, and the occasion of their settlement at Plymouth.*

* See Note H.

But all may not be disposed to join us, in so exact a specification of the beginning of the seventeenth century, as the period, when religious reform had reached its last perfection, and consequently, as the era most favorable to the establishment of a new and free state. None, however, on a larger view of the subject, will be unwilling to allow that this was the great age of general improvement. It was the age, when the discoveries of the Spanish, Portuguese, and English navigators had begun to exert a stimulating influence on the world at large, and the old continent and the new, like the magnetic poles, commenced those momentous processes of attraction and repulsion, from which so much of the activity of both has since proceeded. It was the period when the circulation of knowledge had become general ; and books in all languages were in the hands of a very large class in every country. The history of Europe, in all its states, shows the extent and vehemence of the consequent fermentation. With their new engines of improvement and new principles of right, the communities of men rushed forward in the course of reform ; some with firmness

and vigor, proportioned to the greatness of the object in view, most with tumult and desperation, proportioned to the duration and magnitude of their injuries, and none with entire success. The most that was effected, in the most fortunate states, was a compromise between the new claims and the old abuses. Absolute kings stipulated to be no longer absolute ; and free men preferred what they called petitions of right. In this way, and after infinite struggles, a tolerable foundation for considerable practical liberty was laid on two principles, in the abstract entirely false ; that of acquiescence on the part of the sovereign, and prescription in favor of the people. So firmly established are these principles, by consent of the statesmen of the freest country in Europe, as the best and only foundation of civil rights, that so late as the last years of the eighteenth century, a work of ingenuity seldom, of eloquence never, surpassed, was written by Mr Burke, to prove, that the people of England have not a right to appoint and to remove their rulers ; and that if they ever had the right, they deliberately renounced it at what is called the *glorious* revolution

of 1688, for themselves and their posterity forever.*

It is obvious, therefore, that the meliorations, which have taken place in Europe within the last two centuries, rest on no sound principle, and are but the effect of alteratives on the fatal malady of age, with which her states are sick at heart. It is true that the popular element, such is its sovereign healing power, which, even on the poor footing of a compromise, has been introduced into a portion of their political constitutions, has operated some of the beneficent effects of the fabled transfusion of youthful blood into aged veins. But the principles of prescription and acquiescence unfortunately run as much in favor of abuses and corruptions as of privileges. On the received footing, the acknowledged vices and evils of their institutions are as sacred as the best rights, and the door to any consistent and rational improvement is effectually closed ; because the more degenerate, the more antiquated, the more hostile to the spirit and character of the age, the institution that needs reform may be, the more ancient it will also

* See Note I.

commonly be found, and in consequence, the more strongly fortified by prescription.

While, therefore, the work of social renovation is entirely hopeless in Europe, we cannot but regard it as the plain interposition of Providence, that, at the critical point of time, when the most powerful springs of improvement were in operation, a chosen company of pilgrims, who were actuated by these springs of improvement, in all their strength, who had purchased the privilege of dissent at the high price of banishment from the civilized world, and who, with the dust of their feet, had shaken off the antiquated abuses and false principles, which had been accumulating for thousands of years, came over to these distant, unoccupied shores. I know not that the work of thorough reform could be safely trusted to any other hands. I can credit their disinterestedness, when they maintain the equality of ranks; for no rich forfeitures of attainted lords await them in the wilderness. I need not question the sincerity with which they assert the rights of conscience; for the plundered treasures of an ancient hierarchy are not to seal their doctrine. They rested the edifice of their civil and religious liberties on a foundation as pure and

innocent as the snows around them. Blessed be the spot, the only one earth, where such a foundation was ever laid. Blessed be the spot, the only one on earth, where man has attempted to establish the good, without beginning with the sad, the odious, the too suspicious task of pulling down the bad.

III. Under these favorable auspices, the Pilgrims landed on the coast of New England. They found it a region of moderate fertility, offering an unsubdued wilderness to the hand of labor, with a climate temperate indeed, but compared with that which they had left, verging somewhat near to either extreme; and a soil which promised neither gold nor diamonds, nor any thing but what should be gained from it by patient industry. This was but a poor reality for that dream of oriental luxury, with which America had filled the imaginations of men. The visions of Indian wealth, of mines of silver and gold, and fisheries of pearl, with which the Spanish adventurers in Mexico and Peru had astonished the ears of Europe, were but poorly fulfilled on the bleak, rocky, and sterile plains of New England. No doubt, in the beginning

of the settlement, these circumstances operated unfavorably on the growth of the colony. In the nature of things, it is mostly adventurers, who incline to leave their homes and native land, and risk the uncertainty of another hemisphere; and a climate and soil like ours furnished but little attraction to the adventuring class. Captain Smith, in his zeal to promote the growth of New England, is at no little pains to show that the want of mineral treasures was amply compensated by the abundant fishery of the coast; and having sketched in strong colors the prosperity and wealth of the states of Holland, he adds, "Divers, I know, may allege many other assistances, but this is the chiefest mine, and the sea the source of those silver streams of their virtue, which hath made them now the very miracle of industry, the only pattern of perfection for these affairs; and the benefit of fishing is that *primum mobile* that turns all their spheres to this height of plenty, strength, honor and exceeding great admiration."*

While we smile at this overwrought panegyric on the primitive resource of our fathers, we

* Smith's General Historie, &c. Vol. II. p. 185. Richmond Edit.

cannot but do justice to the principle, on which it rests. It is doubtless to the untempting qualities of our climate and soil, and the conditions of industry and frugality, on which alone the prosperity of the colony could be secured, that we are to look for a full share of the final success, that crowned the enterprise.

To this it is to be ascribed that the country itself was not preoccupied by a crowded population of savages, like the West India Islands, like Mexico and Peru, who, placed upon a soil yielding almost spontaneously a superabundance of food, had multiplied into populous empires, and made a progress in the arts, which served no other purpose, than to give strength and permanence to some of the most frightful systems of despotism, that ever afflicted humanity; systems uniting all that is most horrible in depraved civilization and wild barbarity. The problem indeed is hard to be solved, in what way and by what steps a continent, possessed by savage tribes, is to be lawfully occupied and colonized by civilized man.* But this question was divested of much of its practical difficulty by the scantiness of the native population, which our

* See Note K.

fathers found in New England, and the migratory life to which the necessity of the chase reduced them. It is owing to this, that the annals of New England exhibit no scenes like those which were acted in Hispaniola, in Mexico, and Peru; no tragedies like those of Anacoana, of Guatimozin, and of Atahualpa; no statesman like Bovadilla; no heroes like Pizarro and Cortes;

“No dark Ovando, no religious Boyle.”

The qualities of our climate and soil enter largely in other ways into that natural basis, on which our prosperity and our freedom have been reared. It is these which distinguish the smiling aspect of our busy, thriving villages from the lucrative desolation of the sugar islands, and all the wide spread, undescribed, indescribable miseries of the colonial system of modern Europe, as it has existed beyond the barrier of these mighty oceans, in the unvisited, unprotected, and unavenged recesses of either India. We have had abundant reason to be contented with this austere sky, this hard unyielding soil. Poor as it is, it has left us no cause to sigh for the luxuries of the tropics, nor to covet the mines of the southern regions of our hemisphere. Our

rough and hardly subdued hill sides and barren plains have produced us that, which neither ores, nor spices, nor sweets could purchase,—which would not spring in the richest gardens of the despotic East. The compact numbers and the strength, the general intelligence and the civilization which, since the world began, were never exhibited beneath the sultry line, have been the precious product of this iron bound coast.* The rocks and the sands, which would yield us neither the cane nor the coffee tree, have yielded us, not only an abundance and a growth in resources, rarely consistent with the treacherous profusion of the tropical colonies, but the habits, the manners, the institutions, the industrious population, the schools and the churches, beyond all the wealth of all the Indies.

“Man is the nobler growth our soil supplies,
And souls are ripened in our northern skies.”

Describe to me a country, rich in veins of the precious metals, that is traversed by good roads. Inform me of the convenience of bridges, where the rivers roll over golden sands. Tell me of a thrifty, prosperous village of freemen, in the

* See Note L.

miserable districts where every clod of the earth is kneaded up for diamonds, beneath the lash of the task master. No, never! while the constitution, not of states, but of human nature, remains the same; never, while the laws, not of civil society, but of God are unrepealed, will there be a hardy, virtuous, independent yeomanry in regions where two acres of untilled banana will feed a hundred men.* It is idle to call that *food*, which can never feed a free, intelligent, industrious population. It is not food. It is dust; it is chaff; it is ashes;—there is no nourishment in it, if it be not carefully sown, and painfully reaped, by laborious freemen, on their own fee-simple acres.

IV. Nor ought we omit to say, that if our fathers found, in the nature of the region to which they emigrated, the most favorable spot for the growth of a free and happy state, they themselves sprang from the land, the best adapted to furnish the habits and principles essential to the great undertaking. In an age that speculates, and speculates to important purpose, on the races of fossil animals, of which

* See Note M.

no living specimen has existed since the deluge, and which compares, with curious criticism, the dialects of languages which ceased to be spoken a thousand years ago, it cannot be called idle to inquire which of the different countries of modern Europe possesses the qualities, that best adapt it to become the parent nation of a new and free state. I know not in fact, what more momentous question in human affairs could be asked, than that which regards the most hopeful lineage of a collective empire. But without engaging in so extensive a discussion, I may presume that there is not one who hears me, that does not feel it a matter of congratulation and joy, that our fathers were Englishmen.

No character is perfect among nations, more than among men, nor is the office of the panegyrist more respectable towards the one than the other. But it must needs be conceded, that after our own country, England is the most favored abode of liberty; or rather, that besides our own, it is the only land where liberty can be said to exist; the only land where the voice of the sovereign is not stronger than the voice of the law. We can scarce revolve with patience the idea, that we might have been a Spa-

nish colony, a Portuguese colony, or a Dutch colony ; we can scarcely compare with coolness the inheritance of those institutions, which were transmitted to us by our fathers, with that which we must have received from almost any other country ; absolute government, military despotism, privileged orders, and the holy inquisition.* What would have been the condition of this flourishing and happy land, were these the institutions, on which its settlement had been founded ? There are, unfortunately, too many materials for answering this question, in the history of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements on the American continent, from the first moment of unrelenting waste and desolation, to the distractions and conflicts, of which we ourselves are the witnesses. What hope can there be for the colonies of nations, which possess themselves no spring of improvement ; and tolerate none in the regions over which they rule ; whose administration sets no bright examples of political independence ; whose languages send out no reviving lessons of sound and practical science, afraid of nothing that is true of manly literature, of free speculation ; but

* See Note N.

repeat, with every ship that crosses the Atlantic, the same debasing voice of despotism, credulity, superstition, and slavery.

Let us here bring our general conceptions down to an example. The country called Brazil, and till lately subject to the kingdom of Portugal, (a kingdom more nearly of the size of Tennessee than of any other of the United States;)—the country of Brazil, stretching from the mouth of the Oyapoco, in the fourth degree of north latitude, to the Banda Oriental in the thirty third degree of south, and from Peru to the Atlantic Ocean,* is, by computation, one tenth part more extensive than the entire territory of the United States. Our whole vast possessions, from the most southern point of Florida to the northeastern extremity of Maine, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean,—possessions which the Surveyor's chain has never marked out, over which tribes of Indians yet roam undisturbed, whose numbers, whose race, whose very names are unknown,—tracts unexplored, in which the wild hunter, half savage, half outlaw, has not yet startled the beaver, on the still and solitary banks of his

* See Note O.

hereditary stream,—I say this mighty territory is one tenth smaller than Brazil. And now name to me a book in the Portuguese language, where a Brazilian could read so much as the elements of liberty. Name to me a law in the Portuguese code, to protect his property from confiscation and himself from the rack or the stake, whenever the minister shall give the nod. Name me an institution in the whole Portuguese system, in the remotest degree favorable to the progress and happiness of man.—And yet it is from this despised corner of Europe, that all the seed must come, to sow this mighty land. It is from this debased source that all the influences have gone forth, which have for three centuries actually decided, and for centuries more must decisively influence the destinies of these all but boundless territories.*

What citizen of our republic is not grateful in the contrast which our history presents?—Who does not feel, what reflecting American does not acknowledge, the incalculable advantages derived to this land, out of the

* See Note P.

deep fountains of civil, intellectual, and moral truth, from which we have drawn in England?—What American does not feel proud that he is descended from the countrymen of Bacon, of Newton, and of Locke?—Who does not know, that while every pulse of civil liberty in the heart of the British empire beat warm and full in the bosom of our fathers; the sobriety, the firmness, and the dignity with which the cause of free principles struggled into existence here, constantly found encouragement and countenance from the sons of liberty there?—Who does not remember that when the pilgrims went over the sea, the prayers of the faithful British confessors, in all the quarters of their dispersion, went over with them, while their aching eyes were strained, till the star of hope should go up in the western skies?—And who will ever forget that in that eventful struggle, which severed this mighty empire from the British crown, there was not heard, throughout our continent in arms, a voice which spoke louder for the rights of America, than that of Burke or of Chatham, within the walls of the British parliament, and at the foot of the British throne?—No, for myself, I can

truly say, that after my native land, I feel a tenderness and a reverence for that of my fathers. The pride I take in my own country makes me respect that from which we are sprung. In touching the soil of England, I seem to return like a descendant to the old family seat ;—to come back to the abode of an aged, the tomb of a departed parent. I acknowledge this great consanguinity of nations. The sound of my native language beyond the sea, is a music to my ear, beyond the richest strains of Tuscan softness, or Castillian majesty.—I am not yet in a land of strangers, while surrounded by the manners, the habits, the forms, in which I have been brought up. I wander delighted through a thousand scenes, which the historians, the poets have made familiar to us,—of which the names are interwoven with our earliest associations. I tread with reverence the spots, where I can retrace the footsteps of our suffering fathers ; the pleasant land of their birth has a claim on my heart. It seems to me a classic, yea, a holy land, rich in the memories of the great and good ; the martyrs of liberty, the exiled heralds of truth ; and richer as the parent of this land of promise in the west.

I am not,—I need not say I am not,—the panegyrist of England. I am not dazzled by her riches, nor awed by her power. The sceptre, the mitre, and the coronet, stars, garters, and blue ribbons seem to me poor things for great men to contend for. Nor is my admiration awakened by her armies, mustered for the battles of Europe; her navies, overshadowing the ocean; nor her empire grasping the farthest east. It is these, and the price of guilt and blood by which they are maintained, which are the cause why no friend of liberty can salute her with undivided affections. But it is the refuge of free principles, though often persecuted; the school of religious liberty, the more precious for the struggles to which it has been called; the tombs of those who have reflected honor on all who speak the English tongue; it is the birthplace of our fathers, the home of the pilgrims; it is these which I love and venerate in England. I should feel ashamed of an enthusiasm for Italy and Greece, did I not also feel it for a land like this. In an American it would seem to me degenerate and ungrateful, to hang with passion

upon the traces of Homer and Virgil, and follow without emotion the nearer and plainer footsteps of Shakspeare and Milton ; and I should think him cold in his love for his native land, who felt no melting in his heart for that other native land, which holds the ashes of his forefathers.

V. But it was not enough that our fathers were of England : the masters of Ireland, and the lords of Hindostan are of England too. But our fathers were Englishmen, aggrieved, persecuted, and banished. It is a principle, amply borne out by the history of the great and powerful nations of the earth, and by that of none more than the country of which we speak, that the best fruits and choicest action of the commendable qualities of the national character, are to be found on the side of the oppressed few, and not of the triumphant many. As in private character, adversity is often requisite to give a proper direction and temper to strong qualities ; so the noblest traits of national character, even under the freest and most independent of hereditary governments, are com-

monly to be sought in the ranks of a protesting minority, or of a dissenting sect. Never was this truth more clearly illustrated than in the settlement of New England.

Could a common calculation of policy have dictated the terms of that settlement, no doubt our foundations would have been laid beneath the royal smile. Convoys and navies would have been solicited to waft our fathers to the coast; armies, to defend the infant communities; and the flattering patronage of princes and lords, to espouse their interests in the councils of the mother country. Happy, that our fathers enjoyed no such patronage; happy, that they fell into no such protecting hands; happy, that our foundations were silently and deeply cast in quiet insignificance, beneath a charter of banishment, persecution, and contempt; so that when the royal arm was at length outstretched against us, instead of a submissive child, tied down by former graces, it found a youthful giant in the land, born amidst hardships, and nourished on the rocks, indebted for no favors, and owing no duty. From the dark portals of the star chamber, and in the stern text of the acts of uniformity, the pilgrims received a com-

mission, more efficient, than any that ever bore the royal seal. Their banishment to Holland was fortunate; the decline of their little company in the strange land was fortunate; the difficulties which they experienced in getting the royal consent to banish themselves to this wilderness were fortunate; all the tears and heart breakings of that ever memorable parting at Delfthaven, had the happiest influence on the rising destinies of New England. All this purified the ranks of the settlers. These rough touches of fortune brushed off the light, uncertain, selfish spirits. They made it a grave, solemn, self-denying expedition, and required of those who engaged in it, to be so too. They cast a broad shadow of thought and seriousness over the cause, and if this sometimes deepened into melancholy and bitterness, can we find no apology for such a human weakness?

It is sad indeed to reflect on the disasters, which the little band of pilgrims encountered. Sad to see a portion of them, the prey of unrelenting cupidity, treacherously embarked in an unsound, unseaworthy ship, which they are soon obliged to abandon, and crowd themselves into one vessel; one hundred persons, besides the

ship's company, in a vessel of one hundred and sixty tons. One is touched at the story of the long, cold, and weary autumnal passage ; of the landing on the inhospitable rocks at this dismal season ; where they are deserted before long by the ship, which had brought them, and which seemed their only hold upon the world of fellow men, a prey to the elements and to want, and fearfully ignorant of the numbers, the power, and the temper of the savage tribes, that filled the unexplored continent, upon whose verge they had ventured. But all this wrought together for good. These trials of wandering and exile of the ocean, the winter, the wilderness and the savage foe were the final assurance of success.* It was these that put far away from our fathers' cause, all patrician softness, all hereditary claims to preeminence. No effeminate nobility crowded into the dark and austere ranks of the pilgrims. No Carr nor Villiers would lead on the ill provided band of despised Puritans. No well endowed clergy were on the alert, to quit their cathedrals, and set up a pompous hierarchy in the frozen wilderness. No craving governors were anxious to be sent over to our

* See Note Q.

cheerless El Dorados of ice and of snow. No, they could not say they had encouraged, patronised, or helped the pilgrims; their own cares, their own labors, their own councils, their own blood, contrived all, achieved all, bore all, sealed all. They could not afterwards fairly pretend to reap where they had not strewn; and as our fathers reared this broad and solid fabric with pains and watchfulness, unaided, barely tolerated, it did not fall when the favor, which had always been withholden, was changed into wrath; when the arm, which had never supported, was raised to destroy.

Methinks I see it now, that one solitary, adventurous vessel, the *Mayflower* of a forlorn hope, freighted with the prospects of a future state, and bound across the unknown sea. I behold it pursuing, with a thousand misgivings, the uncertain, the tedious voyage. Suns rise and set, and weeks and months pass, and winter surprises them on the deep, but brings them not the sight of the wished for shore. I see them now scantily supplied with provisions, crowded almost to suffocation in their illstored prison, delayed by calms, pursuing a circuitous route;—and now driven in fury before the

raging tempest, on the high and giddy waves. The awful voice of the storm howls through the rigging. The laboring masts seem straining from their base;—the dismal sound of the pumps is heard;—the ship leaps, as it were, madly, from billow to billow;—the ocean breaks, and settles with engulfing floods over the floating deck, and beats with deadening, shivering weight, against the staggered vessel.— I see them, escaped from these perils, pursuing their all but desperate undertaking, and landed at last, after a five months passage, on the ice clad rocks of Plymouth,—weak and weary from the voyage,—poorly armed, scantily provisioned, depending on the charity of their ship-master for a draught of beer on board, drinking nothing but water on shore,—without shelter,—without means,—surrounded by hostile tribes. Shut now the volume of history, and tell me, on any principle of human probability, what shall be the fate of this handful of adventurers.—Tell me, man of military science, in how many months were they all swept off by the thirty savage tribes, enumerated within the early limits of New England? Tell me, politician, how long did this shadow of a colony, on which

your conventions and treaties had not smiled, languish on the distant coast? Student of history, compare for me the baffled projects, the deserted settlements, the abandoned adventures of other times, and find the parallel of this. Was it the winter's storm, beating upon the houseless heads of women and children; was it hard labor and spare meals;—was it disease,—was it the tomahawk,—was it the deep malady of a blighted hope, a ruined enterprise, and a broken heart, aching in its last moments, at the recollection of the loved and left, beyond the sea; was it some, or all of these united, that hurried this forsaken company to their melancholy fate?—And is it possible that neither of these causes, that not all combined, were able to blast this bud of hope?—Is it possible, that from a beginning so feeble, so frail, so worthy, not so much of admiration as of pity, there has gone forth a progress so steady, a growth so wonderful, an expansion so ample, a reality so important, a promise, yet to be fulfilled, so glorious?

Such, in a very inadequate statement, are some of the circumstances under which the set-

tlement of our country began. The historian of Massachusetts, after having given a brief notice of Carver, of Bradford, of Winslow, of Brewster, of Standish, and others, adds, "These were the founders of the colony of Plymouth. The settlement of this colony occasioned the settlement of Massachusetts Bay; which was the source of all the other colonies of New England. Virginia was in a dying state, and seemed to revive and flourish from the example of New England. I am not preserving from oblivion," continues he, "the names of heroes whose chief merit is the overthrow of cities, of provinces, and empires; but the names of the founders of a flourishing town and colony, if not of the whole British empire in America."* This was the judicious reflection of Hutchinson sixty years ago, when the greatest tribute to be paid to the Fathers of Plymouth was, that they took the lead in colonizing the British possessions in America. What then ought to be our emotions, as we meet on this anniversary, upon the spot, where the first successful foundations of the great American republic were laid?

* Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. II. Appendix: page 468.

Within a short period, an incident has occurred, which of itself connects, in the most gratifying association, the early settlement of New England with the present growth and prosperity of our wide extended republic. Within the past year, the sovereign hand of this great confederacy of nations has been extended for the restoration and security of the harbor, where, on the day we celebrate, the germ of the future growth of America was comprehended within one weather beaten vessel, tossing upon the tide, on board of which, in the words of Hutchinson, the fathers of New England, by a solemn instrument, "formed themselves into a proper democracy." Two centuries only have elapsed, and we behold a great American representation convened, from twenty four independent and flourishing republics, taking under their patronage the local interests of the spot where our fathers landed, and providing in the same act of appropriation, for the removal of obstacles in the Mississippi and the repair of Plymouth beach. I know not in what words a more beautiful commentary could be written, on our early infancy or our happy growth. There were members of the national Congress which made that appropriation, I will

not say from distant states, but from different climates; from regions which the sun in the heavens does not reach in the same hour that he rises on us. Happy community of protection! Glorious expansion of brotherhood! Blessed fulfilment of that first timorous hope, that warmed the bosoms of our fathers!

Nor is it even our mighty territory, to which the influence of the principles and example of the fathers of New England is confined. While I utter the words, a constitution of republican government, closely imitated from ours, is going into operation in the states of the Mexican confederation, a region more extensive than all our territories east of the Mississippi.* Farther south, the provinces of central America, the republic of Guatimala, a country equal in magnitude to our Atlantic states, has sent its envoys to solicit an union with us. Will posterity believe that such an offer was made and refused, in the age that saw England and Spain rushing into war, for the possession of a few uninhabited islets on the coast of Patagonia? Pass the isthmus of Darien, and we behold the sister repub-

* See Note R.



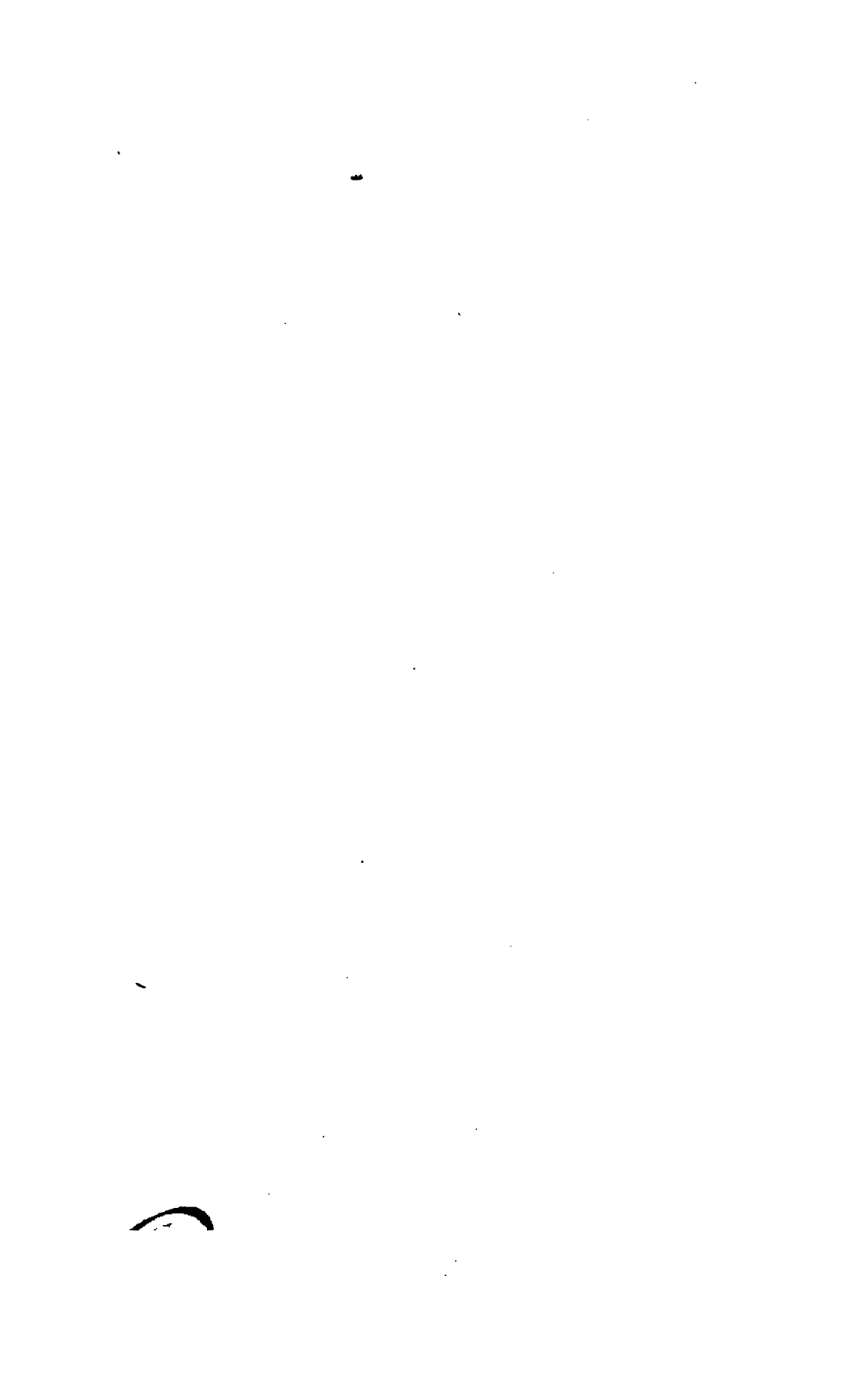
lic of Colombia, a realm two thirds as large as Europe, ratifying her first solemn treaty of amity and commerce with the United States; while still onward to the south, in the valleys of the Chilian Andes, and on the banks of the La Plata, in states not less vast than those already named, constitutions of republican government are in prosperous operation, founded on our principles, and modelled on our forms. When our commissioners visited those countries in 1817, they found the books most universally read among the people, were the constitutions of the United States, and of the several states, translated into the language of the country; while the public journals were filled with extracts from the celebrated "Defence" of these constitutions, written by that venerable descendant of the Pilgrims, who still lives to witness the prosperous operation of the governments, which he did so much to establish.*

I do not fear that we shall be accused of extravagance in the enthusiasm we feel at a train of events of such astonishing magnitude, novelty, and consequence, connected by associations

* See Note S.

so intimate, with the day we now hail ; with the events we now celebrate ; with the pilgrim fathers of New England. Victims of persecution ! how wide an empire acknowledges the sway of your principles ! Apostles of liberty ! what millions attest the authenticity of your mission ! Meek champions of truth, no stain of private interest or of innocent blood is on the spotless garments of your renown ! The great continents of America have become, at length, the theatre of your achievements ; the Atlantic and the Pacific, the highways of communication, on which your principles, your institutions, your example are borne. From the oldest abodes of civilization, the venerable plains of Greece, to the scarcely explored range of the Cordilleras, the impulse you gave at length is felt. While other regions revere you as the leaders of this great march of humanity, we are met on this joyful day, to offer to your memories our tribute of filial affection. The sons and daughters of the Pilgrims, we have assembled on the spot where you, our suffering fathers, set foot on this happy shore. Happy indeed, it has been for us. O that you could have enjoyed those blessings, which you prepared for your children. Could our com-

fortable homes have shielded you from the wintry air ; could our abundant harvests have supplied you in time of famine ; could the broad shield of our beloved country have sheltered you from the visitations of arbitrary power ! We come in our prosperity to remember your trials ; and here on the spot where New England began to be, we come to learn of our pilgrim fathers a deep and lasting lesson of virtue, enterprise, patience, zeal, and faith !



NOTES.

Note A. Page 13.

THE object of this Discourse is of course more immediately confined to New England, as the part of the country most directly affected by the settlement of Plymouth. Some of the topics, however, apply equally to all parts of America; others to all the English Colonies on this Continent. It was not thought necessary to interrupt the train of remark, in each single case, to modify it in reference to this qualification. New England alone is generally mentioned, and the more or less extensive application of each separate topic of observation is left to be made by the intelligent.

Note B. Page 14.

It is stated by Peter Martyr, the *first writer* on the discovery of America, that two of the vessels of Columbus were without decks. "Ex regio fisco destinata sunt tria Navigia; unum onerarium cavatum, alia duo levia mercatoria *sine caveis*, quæ ab Hispanis *caravelæ* vocantur." (*De rebus Oceanicis*, p. 2.) Peter Martyr,* who had lived and served long, as soldier and ambassador, in Spain, cannot be supposed to have been ignorant of the sense, in which the word *Caravel* was used by the Spaniards. At the same time, it must be allowed to be a circumstance almost incredible, that an expedition, like that of Columbus, should be fitted out, with two out of three vessels unprovided with decks. In Bossi's *Vita di Cristofero Colombo*, published at Milan in 1818, is an able annotation on the subject of the Caravels. It is there asserted, on the credit of an Italian Marine Dictionary, (published at Milan in 1813, in three vols. 4to. and bearing a high character,) that the word "Caravella is known in the Mediterranean, as indicating the larger Turkish ships of war, with a high poop; but that in Portugal it denotes a vessel of from 120 to 140 tons." Du Cange in his Glossary expresses the opinion, that it is a word of Italian origin, an opinion, which de Bossi condemns, regarding it rather as Turkish or Arabic, and probably introduced into the

* He must be carefully distinguished from Peter Martyr, the Reformer, who taught for some time in England, and who flourished near a half century after the historian. The name of Peter Martyr is in either case the Christian name only, and to avoid the confusion, it might be expedient to use their family names. That of the reformer was Vermigli, that of the historian d'Anghiera. An account of the former is given in Tiraboschi, VII. 327; of the latter, in the same author, VIII. 366.

European languages by the Moors. These authors, however, are apparently both in an error. The true origin of the term is, no doubt, given in Ferrarii origines linguæ Italicæ, as follows; "*Caravela navigii minoris genus: Carabus; Græce Καράβιον.*" The primitive meaning of the Latin *Carabus* and the Greek *Καράβιον* is *Crab*, a word, in fact, derived from them. In either language, the word was used to signify a *vessel* or a *boat*. The word *Καράβιον* has descended to the modern Greeks, who use *Καράβι* for a *vessel*, in general; and Isidore, a late Latin writer, in his *Origines*, lib. xix. c. 1, defines a *Carabus* to be a "small skiff made of osiers, which, covered with raw leather, forms a sort of boat." There seems, therefore, much reason to respect the authority of the historian first quoted, who describes the Caravel of the Spaniards as a light open vessel. This minuteness of criticism will, I hope, be pardoned on a subject so closely connected with the discovery of America.

Having in the beginning of this note called Peter Martyr d'Anghiera the first writer, who commemorates Columbus, (and so he is generally reputed,) it should be observed, that he is entitled to this credit of precedence, by a very slight priority. The dedication of his *Decades* bears date Prid. Calend. October, or September 30, 1516. In November of the same year, was published a Polyglott Psalter, at Genoa, containing the Psalms in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Chaldee, in which, in the form of a note on Psalm xix. 5. *Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world*, is given an account of Columbus and his discoveries, filling seven octavo pages, as copied in a work of de Murr. This is doubtless the first account of Columbus, for P. Martyr d'Anghiera introduces him simply as "*Ligur vir.*" The editor of this Psalter and author of the note in question, was Guistiniani, a bishop, and as he speaks of Columbus as a native of Genoa, at a period so early, and mentions the bequest made by Columbus of the tenth part of his estates to the city of Genoa, his authority is of great weight in settling the contested points of the place of the birth of Columbus, and the authenticity of his will. Since the appearance, however, of the important and curious work entitled *Codice diplomatico Colombo-Americano ossia raccolta di documenti originali e inediti, spettanti a Cristoforo Colombo, alla scoperta e allo governo dell' America*, Genoa, 1823, these questions may be considered as put at rest.

This last very curious work, which has not yet attracted a due degree of notice from the public, though containing more *official* details relative to Columbus than all the other works hitherto published relative to America, was printed by order of the magistrates of Genoa. An account of the English translation of it may be found in the *North American Review* for April last, page 415. Two manuscripts, copies of the grants, patents, &c. of the Spanish government to Columbus (from one of which the work is now at length printed) were made by order of Columbus himself, and sent to his friend Oderigo, in Genoa. In 1670, the descendant of Oderigo presented the two manuscripts to the magistracy at Genoa. During the French Revolution one of the manuscripts was taken to Paris, and has not yet been restored to Genoa. The other was supposed to be lost, till on the death of Count Micheloni Cambiasi, a Senator of Genoa, it was advertised for sale among his books, but immediately claimed as public property. It has since been deposited in a monument erected for the purpose, and from it the work in question is printed.

Whether the two manuscripts thus mentioned be the only ones in existence may admit of doubt. When I was in Florence in 1818, a small folio manuscript was brought to me, written on parchment, apparently two or three centuries old, in binding once very rich, but now worn, containing

a series of documents in Latin and Spanish, mostly the latter, with the following title on the first blank page, "Traslado de las Bullas del Papa Alexandro VI, de la Concession de las Indias y los titulos, privilegios, y cedulas reales, que se dieron a Christoval Colon."—I was led by this title to purchase the work; but, deterred by the abundant use of abbreviations and a limited acquaintance with the language, I made no attempt for several years to read it. My attention having been turned again to it, by the publication of the work at Genoa, and having had an opportunity, by the kindness of a friend, of seeing a copy of it, the only one perhaps in this part of the country, I was surprised to find my manuscript, as far as it goes, *nearly* identical in its contents with that of Genoa, supposed to be one of the only two in existence. My manuscript consists of about *eighty* closely written folio pages, which coincide precisely with the text of the first *thirty seven* documents, contained in two hundred and forty pages of the Genoese volume. A few more documents, wanting in my manuscript, are found in the Genoese work; and a second Bull of Alexander VI, in Latin, is contained in the former, and is wanting in the latter.

In the last of the documents, contained in the Genoese volume, and wanting in my manuscript, we read as follows;

"Los originales destos privilegios y cartas y cedulas y otras muchas cartas de sus Altezas e otras escrituras, tocantes al Señor Almirante, estan en el monasterio de Sancta Maria de las Cuevas de Sevilla.

"Otroys esta, en el dicho Monasterio un libro traslado de los privilegios e cartas susodichos, semejante que esto.

"Otro traslado levo este año de M. D. II. y tiene Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal a las Yndias, escripto en papel e abtorizado.

"Otro traslado en pergamino tal como este."

Mention is here accordingly made of four copies of these documents, three on parchment and one on paper. Two of them were sent by Columbus himself to Genoa. Whether that procured by me at Florence be a third; whether it be that supposed to be at Paris; or, what is more probable perhaps, another copy, there are at present no means of deciding. I hope to have in my power, on some other occasion, to describe it more accurately, particularly in those respects, in which it differs from the Genoese volume.

Note C. Page 16.

It is probable that the great extent, to which the business of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland and the New England coasts was early carried, was one chief cause of the familiarity of men with the idea of the passage across the Atlantic, and consequently of the readiness of our forefathers to undertake it. It appears, that as early as 1678, there were employed in this fishery, of Spaniards 100 sail, besides 20 or 30 in the whale fishery on the same coasts; of Portuguese 50; of French 150; of English from 30 to 50. (*Hakluyt*, Vol. III. p. 132, cited in the *North American Review* for July, 1824, p. 140.) Captain Smith remarks, that according to "Whitbourne's discovery of Newfoundland," the banks and coasts in that region were visited by 250 sail of English fishermen annually. (Vol. II. p. 246, Richmond Edition.) So important was this work of Whitbourne esteemed for the encouragement of the British fisheries that, by an order in Council, dated 12th of April, 1622, it was ordered to be distributed to every parish in the kingdom. (*Ancient Right of the English Nation to the American Fisheries*, &c. London, 1764.) The last cited valuable treatise contains (page 50) an important statement of the amount

of the French fishery in 1745, "made in that year, at the desire of the Governor of the Massachusetts province, by Mr Thomas Kilby." By this account, it appears that "564 ships in all, and 27,500 men were yearly employed from France on the banks of Newfoundland." The extent of the British fisheries, in this quarter, on an average of three years ending 1773, may be seen in Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the American States, 6th Ed. p. 64. From one of the documents in the work entitled, "The Fisheries and the Mississippi," by the present Secretary of State, it appears that before 1810, there were annually employed from the United States 1232 vessels in the Bank, Bay, and Labrador fisheries, navigated by 10,459 men.—See also *Seybert's Statistics*, p. 333.

Note D. Page 29.

"From the commencement of the *religious war* in Germany to the peace of Westphalia, scarce any thing great or memorable occurred in the European political world, with which the reformation was not essentially connected. Every event in the history of the world in this interval, if not directly occasioned, was nearly influenced by this religious revolution, and every state, great or small, remotely or directly experienced its influence." *Schiller's Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges*. I. 1.

Note E. Page 29.

The close connexion of the religious and political system of Rome is sufficiently shown by the authority of Cicero.—He begins the Oration *pro domo sua*, in these words, *cum multa divinitus, Pontifices, a majoribus nostris inventa atque instituta sunt; tum nihil præclarior quam quod eosdem et religionibus deorum immortalium et summæ Reipublicæ præesse voluerunt; ut amplissimi et clarissimi cives rempublicam bene gerendo religiones sapienter interpretando conservarent.* Whence is it that a principle should be commended by so wise a statesman as Cicero, and in point of experience have been found so salutary in Rome, which has been uniformly productive of evil in modern states and condemned by the soundest politicians?—The cause of the apparent anomaly is no doubt to be found in the organization of the church as a separate institution, having its own principles of growth and decline; and the organization of the clergy as a body having its own interest.—Such a body, when entrusted with power in the state, will be apt to exercise it under the influence of the *esprit du corps* for its own advancement. In Rome, the public religion rested upon no other sanction than any other part of the public system and the ministers of religion, not belonging to a separate consecrated body, were not liable to be influenced by any other than reasons of state in the administration of their religious functions. Although such a state of things might seem unfriendly to religious influence, it produced not that effect on the Romans, who may be characterized, during the Republic, as a religious people.—

A list of the Pontifices Maximi may be found at the close of the learned treatise of Bosii *de pontifice maximo Romæ veteris*. It contains the most familiar names in the civil history of Rome. After the fall of the Republic, the Emperors regularly assumed the title of Pontifex Maximus, as is shown in another treatise of the same author, *Bosii de Pontificatu maximo imperii Romani exercitatio*. What is somewhat singular is, that this title of *High Priest*, originating in the ancient Roman paganism, should have been retained by the Christian emperors down to Gratian. It was afterwards adopted by the Popes, a circumstance which appears to have escaped Middleton in his letter from Rome.

The oft quoted exclamation of Dante, shows at how early a period the principle of the reformation had suggested itself to the independent thinkers.

Ahi, Costantin, di quante mal fu madre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote,
Che da te prese il primo ricco padre.

Note F. Page 30.

The treatment which Pope Boniface VIII received from Philip the fair in the fourteenth century, was as much more audacious than any thing in the recent history of the Papal see, as the power of Boniface was greater than that of Pius VII. Philip not only returned the most contemptuous answers to the Pope's letters, but sent William de Nogaret, (justly called by Mosheim, the most intrepid and inveterate enemy of the Pope before Luther) into Italy to excite a sedition, to seize the person of Boniface and bring him in chains to Lyons. This he so far effected as to get possession of the Pope, whom he loaded with indignities, and even struck on the head with an iron gauntlet. Though rescued by the citizens of Anagni, from the hands of de Nogaret, he died soon after "of the rage and anguish into which these insults threw him." It is useful to recal these traits of history, to enable us to judge more impartially of contemporary events.

Note G. Page 30.

The progress of religious reform, to which I have alluded, concerns only the connexion of church and state. As this connexion was more intimate in the Catholic church, than in any other, that church was so far the most corrupt. And as this connexion was unquestionably as prejudicial to the church, as to the state, the catholics have really as much reason to rejoice in the reformation as the protestants. There can be but little doubt, in the mind of any one who reads the history of the middle ages, that the interests of no communion of Christians have been more advanced by the reformation, than of that which regards the Pope as its head.

In like manner, in speaking of the reform carried on in England by the dissenters and puritans, no other reference is had than to the political question of the union of church and state. This union, as existing in England, I consider a great political abuse. As to the doctrinal points agitated between the catholics and protestants; the church of England and dissenters; however important they may have been at different times thought, so long as they rested within the limits of speculative theology, their settlement, one way or the other, could have had but little effect on the condition of states.

Note H. Page 31.

Bishop Burnet has discriminated the Presbyterians and Independents, in the following manner. "The main difference between these was, that the Presbyterians seemed reconcilable to the church; for they loved episcopal ordination and a liturgy, and upon some amendments seemed disposed to come into the church; and they liked the civil government and limited monarchy. But as the independents were for a commonwealth in the state, so they put all the power in the church in the people, and thought that their choice was an ordination: nor did they approve of set forms of worship." *History of his own Times*. II. 406.

This character, it must be remembered, was given of the Independents, after the times of the commonwealth in England. At the period of the first emigrations to New England, there is no reason for accusing the independents of disaffection to the civil government.

In 1619, Mr. Robinson published, at Leyden, "*Apologia pro exulibus Anglicis qui Brownistæ vulgo appellantur.*" Mosheim conjectures that the name of *Independents* may have grown out of a word in the following sentence, in which the leading principle of their religious peculiarities is expressed, "*Cætum quemlibet particularem esse totam, integram, et perfectam ecclesiam ex suis partibus constantem, immediate et independentem (quoad alias ecclesias) sub ipso Christo.*" *Apologia, Cap. V. p. 22.* Cited in *Mosheim, V. 388.*

Note I. Page 34.

A considerable, and the most elaborate part of Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, is occupied in refuting the assertion of Dr Price, that by the Revolution in 1688, the English people acquired "the right to choose their own governors, to cashier them for misconduct, and to frame a government for themselves." It is certainly too much to say, in unlimited terms, that the English Constitution, as fixed at the Revolution, gives a right of choosing or removing the king. On the other hand, it is equally certain that both at, after, and before the Revolution, Parliament claimed and exercised the right of choosing and deposing the king and limiting the succession. Burke expresses himself thus: "So far is it from being true that we acquired a right, by the Revolution, to elect our kings, that if we had possessed it before, the English nation did, at that time, most solemnly renounce and abdicate it for themselves, and for all their posterity forever. These gentlemen [Dr Price and his party] may value themselves as much as they please on their whig principles; but I never desire to be thought a better whig than Lord Somers," &c.

Lord Somers is thus particularly appealed to by Mr Burke, in support of his construction of the Constitution, because the declaration of right was drawn by him. But it is somewhat remarkable that Burke should have insisted so much on this authority, for Lord Somers printed a work in 1710, of which the title sufficiently shows the object:—"A brief history of the succession of the Crown of England; wherein facts collected from the best authorities are opposed to the novel assertors of indefeasible hereditary right." After having in this work, gone through with a masterly deduction of the history of the English crown from the establishment of it, Lord Somers sums up, as follows: "I shall leave every man to make his own observations on this historical deduction. But this one observation I believe all men must make from it; that it hath been the constant opinion of all ages, that the Parliament of England had an unquestionable power to limit, restrain, and qualify the succession as they pleased, and that in all ages they have put their power in practice; and that the historian* had reason for saying, that seldom or never the third heir in a right descent enjoyed the crown of England!"

Note K. Page 38.

The settlements made by civilized Europeans on the coasts of America and of other countries occupied by savages, have evidently proceeded on the assumption of peculiar principles of national or rather social law.

* 'Daniel, fol. 5. in vita H. I.'

Not only the arbitrary kings of Spain and Portugal, but the constitutional king of England, claimed a right of occupying, possessing, and granting to individuals or companies, all newly discovered heathen lands; nor was it admitted that the natives had any right to the soil, in the same sense that citizens of one country acknowledge each other's rights, and the governments of friendly nations the rights of each other's subjects. There does not seem to be any principle of natural law, by which savage tribes can claim *full right* to the whole of the widest region, which they wander over in the chase, and to the perpetual exclusion of civilized settlers. If then savage nations have not a full right, what right have they; and to how much territory have they any right? These are questions not yet well settled.—What is the ground and extent of the obligation, which a civilized community is under, by inalienable reservations of land and by liberal appropriations of money, to introduce the arts of civilized life among border tribes of a different race and language, with whom no intermixture of blood can take place without degeneracy?—As modes of diffusing civilization most widely, is the choice well established between the increase of a civilized population and civilizing a barbarous one? These questions present themselves in their most delicate form, in the present controversy in the state of Georgia, and it may be doubted whether they are fully solved on the general notions of humanity usually applied to them, however strong and natural the prepossession felt at a distance in favor of a weaker party.

Note L. Page 40.

As it is now generally admitted that a *temperate climate* is essential to the attainment of the highest degrees of civilization, (*Heeren's Ideen Th. V. Allgemeine Vorerinnerungen.*) there is more reason than ever to depart from the ancient phraseology of *Zones*, in the use of which we almost unconsciously connect the idea of certain degrees of heat or cold with certain parallels of latitude. The remarks in the text, relative to tropical regions, must of course be confined to tropical climates. Our own continents present the most striking instances of the change of climate; and of natural productions, state of civilization, and social character, as affected by climate; in travelling, on the same parallel, from the coasts to the summits of the mountains.

The Atlas of Humboldt contains a curious comparative view of the different altitude of the limit of perpetual congelation in different latitudes. And his *Essay on Isothermal lines*, as well as various parts of his large works, furnish the most instructive illustrations of the same subject. See particularly his *Relation Historique*, Tom. II. p. 360.

Note M. Page 41.

"I doubt if there be another plant upon the face of the earth, which, on a small space of soil, produces a quantity of nutritious substance so considerable as the banana. Eight or nine months after the sucker is planted, the banana tree begins to develop its cluster, and the fruit may be gathered the tenth or eleventh month. When the stalk is cut, there is constantly found among the numerous shoots, which have sprung from the roots, a sprout (*pimpollo*) which with two thirds the height of the parent plant, bears fruit three months later. It is thus that a plantation of banana, which is called in the Spanish colonies a *Platanar*, perpetuates itself without any other care than that of cutting the stalks, whose fruit has ripened, and digging the earth slightly about the roots once or twice

a year. A spot of ground of one hundred square metres (about one tenth more than so many square yards) in surface, is sufficient to contain at least from thirty to forty banana plants. This spot of ground, reckoning the weight of the cluster only at from about thirty five to forty five pounds, would yield nearly four thousand five hundred weight of food. What a difference between this product and that of the cereal graminae, in the most fertile parts of Europe. Wheat, supposing it sown and not planted, in the Chinese way, and calculating on the basis of a tenfold increase, does not produce, on a hundred square metres, more than about thirty three pounds weight of grain. In France the legal acre of 54,986 square feet, is sown broadcast in very good land, with about 160 pounds of grain, on medium and poor land with from 200 to 220 pounds; and the produce varies from 1000 to 2500 pounds the acre. The potato, according to M. Tessier yields in Europe, on one hundred square metres of land well manured, about one hundred pounds of the root; or from four to six thousand pounds on the acre of France. The product of the banana is consequently to that of wheat as 133 to 1; and to that of potatoes as 44 to 1."

"In an eminently fertile country, a legal French acre cultivated with banana of the larger kind (*Platano Arion*) would feed more than fifty persons for a year; while in Europe the same acre, on the principle of an eight fold increase, would yield but about twelve hundred pounds of wheat, a quantity not equal to the support for a year of two persons."—*Humboldt Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*. Tom. III. 28, 35.

Note N. Page 43.

It need not be said, that the remarks, which are made in the text, relative to the colonial establishments of different nations on the American soil, can be intended to convey no disrespectful insinuation toward the free states now rising upon those colonial foundations.—The very magnitude of the abuses of the ancient system is among the causes of the convulsive efforts, which have been made, in our days, against those abuses; and the Patriots, who, under infinite discouragements, have effected thus far the political regeneration of those vast regions, are entitled to the greater praise for the difficulties incident to their enterprise. But that they are under no obligation to principles and examples derived from the mother country; that the institutions established in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, instead of serving as a school of freedom—like the colonial institutions in the North American colonies—were of a nature to retard the growth of independence, cannot be doubted.—Even in establishing a form of free government, the leaders of the revolution in Colombia, have been obliged to express their regret that the state of the country and of its population did not allow them to prefer the *Federative System* of the United States to the less perfect *Central System*, which they have adopted.—See the opinions of Bolivar and M. de Salazar as quoted in the *North American Review* for Jan. 1825. p. 79.

Note O. Page 44.

Few questions in Geography have been the subject of more important controversies than the limits of Brazil. It is not a little astonishing to see states like Spain and Portugal, which had respectively by the discovery of America and the passage of the Cape of Good Hope, made the acquisition of new territory larger than Europe, contesting with bitterness a few square leagues of morass on the banks of the Amazon and

its tributaries.—The facts, on which the controversies alluded to turned, are principally these. Pope Nicholas V, in 1454, granted to Alfonso King of Portugal, in full sovereignty, all the countries, which he should discover from Cape Non in Africa to India.* About the time of this grant the navigators of Portugal discovered the Cape de Verde Islands, and the Azores. In 1486, the Portuguese navigator Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope. In 1492 Columbus discovered America; and controversies immediately arose between the Courts of Spain and Portugal, relative to the interference of their several discoveries. To settle this controversy the Spanish Court procured of Pope Alexander VI, (himself a Spaniard,) the famous bull bearing date May 1493, in which he gives to the king of Spain, in full sovereignty, "All the islands and continents which are or may be found, (Omnes insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas,) to the south and west of a meridian line drawn one hundred leagues south of the southernmost of the Azores or Cape de Verde Islands.—This is the famous "*line of demarcation*;" for though, (contrary to the popular representation) nothing is said, in this bull, of the right of the Portuguese to all discoveries east of the line, yet the former Papal grant to Portugal, already mentioned, had given to that kingdom the sovereignty over its discoveries in the east. The Portuguese having shortly after acquired Brazil, by the discoveries of Pinzon, who had been of the company of Columbus on his first voyage, it was perceived that it lay to the *westward* of the line of demarcation, and of course was subject to the Spanish claim. By the treaty of Tordesillas, in 1494, these conflicting rights were compromised, and the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal agreed to run the line three hundred and seventy leagues west of that prescribed by the Pope's bull. This memorable line, by which the territory of three fourth parts of the globe was divided, was to be run by skilful geographers, within ten months. Herrera (*Decad. III. lib. VI.*) describes, in a manner approaching the ludicrous, the array of maps, charts, globes, and instruments, which the geographers brought to this discussion; and Humboldt justly remarks in reference to these and other kindred contests, (*Relation Historique, Tom. II. p. 441.*) that the interests of science alone have been served by them. While the question was keenly agitated between the Portuguese and Spanish geographers, the former striving to run the line as far west and the latter as far east as possible, the discovery and occupation of the Moluccas by the Portuguese, completely inverted the policy of both parties. These valuable islands were perceived to be nearly opposite the Cape de Verdes, on the other side of the globe; and the farther to the west of the Cape de Verdes the line of demarcation was run, so much more of the Moluccas and other neighboring islands would fall within the Spanish hemisphere. The Portuguese geographers *now* contended that the line of demarcation should be counted 370 leagues from a line running through the isle of *Salis*, the easternmost of the Cape de Verdes, while the Spaniards counted the 370 leagues from a line running through St Antonio, which was ninety leagues more to the west, and was the most western of the group;—each party being anxious to lose in Brazil, that it might gain in the Spice islands.—The controversy was protracted for many years, till in 1580, it was, for a time, settled by the union of the two crowns of Spain and Portugal. (*De Laet, Novus Orbis, p. 541.*)

* See the original document in the great Corps Diplomatique. Tom. III. p. 200.

After their separation in 1640, the contest was revived. But the Spice islands having been wrested from the Portuguese by the Dutch, the controversy between the Portuguese and the Spaniards was now reduced to the limits of Brazil. The parties accordingly again changed sides; the Portuguese geographers, at the conferences held at Puente de Caya in 1682, maintained that the 370 leagues must be counted from the most western point of St Antonio, while the Spaniards insisted on the centre of the isle St Nicholas. Two or three commissions, at great expense, were sent out, in the course of the last century, to settle the possession of the uninhabited swamps on the banks of the Tuamini;—the region which was constituted debateable ground by the uncertainty of the point, through which the meridian line should be run.—(*Humboldt Relation Historique*, Tom. II. p. 442.)

In the first volume of M. Martens' supplement to the *Recueil des Traites*, p. 372, the treaty of Tordesillas is contained, and in no previous collection of treaties. The limit of the Oyapok, Oyapoco, or Iapoc, was finally settled by the 107th Article of the Act of the Congress of Vienna; and by a separate convention therein provided for, between Portugal and France.

Note P. Page 45.

A more than ordinary identity of interest and character was effected between Portugal and Brazil; and this vast region was even called by the name of Portugal. "On the banks of the Rio Negro," says Humboldt, in the chapter cited in the last note, "the neighboring country beyond the Amazon is called, in the language of the Spanish Missions, neither Brazil nor the *Copitania general* of Grand Pará, but *Portugal*. The copper colored Indians and the Mulattos, which I have seen ascending from Barcelos to the Spanish fort San Carlos, are *Portuguese*. This denomination prevails among the people even to the coasts of Cumana. A favorite anecdote relates, how the imagination of one of the commandants in the expedition of Solano to settle the limits, in 1754, was struck, by hearing the inhabitants of these regions called *Portuguese*. The old soldier, as ignorant as brave, was provoked at having been sent to the banks of the Orenoque by sea: "If" said he, "as I hear, this vast province of Spanish Guyana reaches all the way to Portugal, (a los Portugeses,) why did the king make us sail from Cadiz. I should have preferred travelling a little farther by land."—"These expressions of *nâire* ignorance," adds Humboldt, "remind one of a strange opinion of Lorenzana the distinguished archbishop of Mexico. This prelate, a person of great historical research, observes in his edition of the letters of Cortes, published so late as 1770, that the possessions of the king of Spain in New California and New Mexico, border by land on *Siberia*!"

These anecdotes alone may serve as an index to the colonial systems of Spain and Portugal, whose archbishops and commissioners for settling limits supposed, in the middle of the last century, that Brazil was bounded by Portugal and New Mexico by Siberia.

Note Q. Page 52.

The sentiment in the text is very strongly illustrated by the statements contained in Pringle's account of the present state of "the English settlers at the Cape of Good Hope." From that work, it appears that ninety thousand persons besieged Earl Bathurst's office, with applications to embark in the government expedition, to found the colony in question. The calamitous consequences are detailed in the work alluded to.

Note R. Page 58.

The constitution of the Mexican confederacy was adopted by the general constituent Congress Oct. 4. 1824, and may be found translated in the National Journal for Dec. 10 and 11th.

The Mexican confederacy consists of the following states and territories; the states of Chiapas, Chihuahua, Coahuila y Tejas, Durango, Guajalato, Mexico, Michoacan, Nuevo Leon, Oajaca, Puebla de los Angeles, Queretaro, San Luis Potosi, Sonora y Sinaloa, Tabasco, Tamaulipas(?) Vera Cruz, Jalisco, Yucatan, and Zacatecas; the territories of upper and lower California, Colima, and Santa Fe of New Mexico. The character of Tlaxcala is to be fixed by a constitutional law.

It will be observed that the division into states and territories does not precisely correspond with the old division into intendencias.

Note S. Page 59.

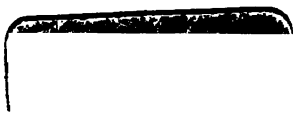
"The following are a few of the subjects of the political essays of the Censor (a periodical paper published at Buenos Ayres) in 1817: an explanation of the Constitution of the United States, and highly praised—The Lancastrian System of Education—on the causes of the prosperity of the United States—Milton's essay on the liberty of the press—A review of the work of the late President Adams, on the American Constitution, and a recommendation of checks and balances, continued through several numbers and abounding with much useful information for the people—brief notice of the life of James Monroe, president of the United States—examination of the federative system—on the trial by Jury—on popular elections—on the effect of enlightened productions on the condition of mankind—an analysis of the several state constitutions of the Union, &c.

"There are in circulation, Spanish translations of many of our best revolutionary writings. The most common are two miscellaneous volumes, one, containing Paine's common sense and rights of man, and declaration of Independence, several of our constitutions, and General Washington's farewell address. The other is an abridged history of the United States down to the year 1810, with a good explanation of the nature of our political institutions, accompanied with a translation of Mr Jefferson's inaugural speech, and other state papers. I believe these have been read by nearly all who can read, and have produced a most extravagant admiration of the United States, at the same time, accompanied with something like despair."—Breckenridge's South America, Vol. II. pp. 213, 214.

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